

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1003

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 13357

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNGA KS ID ASEAN

SUBJECT: KOREAN QUESTION IN UN

REF: (A) USUN 5462 REPEATED BY STATE 257118;

(B) USUN 4718

1. IN VIEW PASSAGE FIRST COMMITTEE OF BOTH FIRENDLY
ANDHOSTILE RESOLUTIONS (REF A), AND CONSIDERING LARGER
MAJORITY OBTAINED BY LATTER, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOW
REVIEW STRATEGY FOR KOREAN QUESTION AT UNGA, INCLUDING
TAKING HARD LOOK AT ASEAN COMPROMISE RESOLUTION (REF B).

2. WE ASSUME THAT UNGA RULES PERMIT PASSAGE OF ONLY
ONE RESOLUTION ON KOREA AND , THEREFORE, IT LIKELY THAT
INDONESIA IN ABSENCE ANY ALTERNATIVE RESOLUTION WILL
HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN FRIENDLY AND HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS
OR ABSTENTION.

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3. IN SUCH CASE, WE BELIEVE DESPITE WHAT ADDITIONAL EFFORTS WE MAY MAKE AND DESPITE GOI'S EARLIER SUPPORT OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION, INDONESIA WILL ABSTAIN. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, WHO HAS ALSO WORKED HARD ON KOREAN ISSUE, SHARES THIS VIEW. WE REASON THAT AS FAR AS "FRIENDLY" RESOLUTION IS CONCERNED, COMBINATION OF WORRY OVER THIRD WORLD ATTITUDE ON TIMOR, SUHARTO'S UNWILLINGNESS TO OVERRIDE MALIK AND SANI, ATTITUDE OF OTHER ASEAN STATES AND RELUCTANCE BE SEEN AS U.S. "STOOGES" WILL OUTWEIGH CONCERN OVER OTHER ASPECTS KOREAN ISSUE.

4. IF, HOWEVER, US AND OTHER SPONSORS OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION WERE, IN CONTEXT SUGGESTED BELOW, TO SUPPORT SATISFACTORILY ASEAN RESOLUTION, WE BELIEVE INDONESIA-WHICH WOULD PREFER TO AVOID NORTH KOREAN PSYCHOLOGICAL VICTORY WOULD NOT ONLY VOTE IN FAVOR OF SUCH RESOLUTION BUT COULD PROBABLY BE PERSUADED VOTE AGAINST HOSTILE RESOLUTION SHOULD IT COME UP. NORTH KOREA UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO ASEAN RESOLUTION AND WOULD HAVE TO BEAR ONUS FOR UNGA FAILURE TO REACH COMPROMISE.

5. WE CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT SUGGESTING SUPPORT FOR ASEAN RESOLUTION COULD RUN RISK THAT SUCH RESOLUTION, IN EFFORT THESE COUNTRIES FIND COMPROMISE, COULD BE FURTHER WATERED DOWN IN NORTH KOREAN DIRECTION. WE WOULD PROPOSE, TO AVOID THIS, THAT WE APPROACH ASEAN COUNTRIES AND INDICATE OUR WILLINGNESS CONSIDER THEIR INITIATIVE AS COMPROMISE PROVIDED THREE ELEMENTS ARE PRESERVED (GOI HAS INDICATED THEIR SUPPORT THESE ELEMENTS) AND THAT ASEAN COUNTRIES PREPARED EXPLAIN MEANING ANY AMBIGUOUS POINTS.

6. AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, AMIN ELEMENTS WE WISH TO SEE PRESERVED IN ANY UNGA RESOLUTION ARE: (A) PARTICIPATION OF ROK IN ANY ARRANGEMENTS/DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING KOREA. ASEAN RESOLUTION WOULD APPEAR TO MEET THIS REQUIREMENT BY USE OF LANGUAGE "ALL THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED" AND BY URGING NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE AND OBSERVE PRINCIPLES OF 1972 JOINT STATEMENT. IF WE CONCERNED THIS NOT CLEAR ENOUGH, WE COULD SUGGEST THAT IN

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LAUNCHING THEIR RESOLUTION ASEAN COUNTRIES NAME INTERESTED PARTIES: (B) PRESERVATION OF ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENTS UNTIL FOLLOW-ON ARRANGEMENTS ARE ESTABLISHED. ASEAN DRAFT APPEALS TO PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED TO CONTINUE TO OBSERVE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT IS REPLACED BY PEACE AGREEMENT. IF IT CLEAR THAT ENIRE RESOLUTION MEANT TO APPLY TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES INCLUDING ROK, THIS WORDING WOULD APPEAR TO

PRESERVE ADEQUATELY EXISTING ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENTS;
(C) UNDERSTANDING THAT BILATERAL US-ROK RELATIONS, UNDER WHICH TROOPS ARE MAINTAINED, ARE NOT UP FOR DISCUSSION. ASEAN RESOLUTION CALLS FOR DISSOLUTION OF UNC AND WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS STATIONED IN ROK UNDER UN FLAG. WHILE THIS WOULD APPEAR CLEARLY TO EXCLUDE US TROOPS UNDER ROK-US BILATERAL, WE COULD, IF NECESSARY, ASK ASEAN NATIONS MAKING PROPOSALS TO NOTE IN EXPLANATION THAT TROOPS UNDER UN COMMAND NUMBER ONLY A FEW HUNDRED.

7. FINALLY, ASEAN RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE MIGHT BE STRENGTHENED BY STATEMENT BY PROPOSING POWERS THAT RESOLUTION IS TOTAL PACKAGE - E.G. UNC IS TO BE DISSOLVED ONLY WHEN THERE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS ON OTHER POINTS.

8. IN SHORT, WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO GO BACK TO GOI AT ALL APPROPRIATE LEVELS TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT FOR ROK, WE ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC AS TO OUTCOME OUR EFFORTS, GIVEN VIEWS OF GOI. PROPOSED MILITARY AID LEVELS SENT CONGRESS WILL NOT HELP OUR CASE. FROM JAKARTA STANDPOINT POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF SUPPORTING ASEAN RESOLUTION ARE CLEAR.
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